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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: OREP, EG, IS, LE, LY, IZ  
SUBJECT: CODEL KRAMER (FORMERLY BROWN) -- MEETING  
- WITH PRESIDENT MUBARAK

1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT).

2. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE CODEL'S NOVEMBER 9 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MUBARAK WAS, BY GENERAL CONSENSUS, THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE CODEL'S VISIT (NOVEMBER 8-11). IN AN EXPANSIVE MOOD DURING THE HOUR AND TEN MINUTE SESSION, MUBARAK DISCUSSED A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES. HE REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND AGAIN ARGUED THAT THE U.S. BEGIN A DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO. ON TABA, HE STRONGLY URGED ISRAEL TO DROP ITS CONDITION (SIC) THAT EGYPT RETURN ITS AMBASSADOR TO ISRAEL BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS RESUME. ON OTHER ISSUES, MUBARAK REQUESTED THAT ASSISTANCE LEVELS REMAIN THE SAME FOR EGYPT; DESCRIBED RELATIONS WITH LIBYA AS PEACEFUL; EXPLAINED THAT EGYPT WANTED TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH BOTH THE U.S. AND USSR; AND DUBBED THE SOVIETS AS THE ONLY BENEFICIARIES OF THE IRAN/IRAQ WAR, WHATEVER THE OUTCOME. END SUMMARY.

3. PRESIDENT MUBARAK ON NOVEMBER 9 RECEIVED CODEL KRAMER ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR ATHERTON, AIRATT PETERSON AND EMBOFFS MCKUNE AND HARTLEY. MUBARAK OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY DESCRIBING EGYPT'S FOREIGN POLICY, EMPHASIZING THAT EGYPT HAD A VERY GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. WHICH IT WANTED TO RETAIN. IT ALSO SOUGHT GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. WHILE EGYPT HAD NO INTENTION OF ESTABLISHING A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE USSR, THE TWO COUNTRIES MIGHT EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS IN "ONE OR TWO YEARS." WITH REGARD TO THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT -- WHICH HE REGARDED AS PRO-SOVIET -- MUBARAK DECLARED THAT MODERATE COUNTRIES LIKE EGYPT SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED

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TO PARTICIPATE MORE FULLY IN THE ORGANIZATION IN ORDER TO EXERT A PRO-WESTERN INFLUENCE. MUBARAK CONCLUDED HIS OPENING REMARKS BY DENYING THERE HAD BEEN ANY ATTEMPT ON HIS LIFE INVOLVING A HAND GRENADE AS HAD BEEN REPORTED IN THE PRESS.

#### 4. EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI RELATIONS

MUBARAK DENIED THAT HE HAD ENCOURAGED ANTI-ISRAELI ELEMENTS IN EGYPT. HE MAY HAVE MADE THREE OR FOUR SPEECHES CRITICAL OF ISRAEL'S INVASION OF LEBANON. HE SAID, BUT THAT WAS THE LEAST HE COULD HAVE DONE. BESIDES THE LEBANON INVASION, THERE WAS THE SABRA/SHATILA MASSACRE. HE HAD BEEN UNDER TREMENDOUS PRESSURE DOMESTICALLY TO CUT RELATIONS ENTIRELY WITH ISRAEL AND HAD CAREFULLY CALCULATED TO DIFFUSE IT. HIS DECISION TO RECALL EGYPT'S AMBASSADOR TO ISRAEL CERTAINLY WAS NEVER CONSIDERED TO BE IRREVOCABLE. HAD HE NOT TAKEN ANY ACTION, EGYPT WOULD HAVE BEEN OPEN TO EVEN MORE CHARGES OF COLLUSION WITH THE U.S. IN THE INVASION. AS IT WAS, SYRIA WAS FALSELY CHARGING THAT AS A RESULT OF CAMP DAVID, ISRAEL WAS FREE TO CONCENTRATE TROOPS ON THE LEBANESE-ISRAELI BORDER AND MOUNT AN INVASION.

WITH REGARD TO TABA, MUBARAK CRITICIZED ISRAEL FOR IMPOSING CONDITIONS FOR THE REOPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS -- SPECIFICALLY, ISRAELI INSISTENCE THAT THE EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR BE SENT BACK BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS RESUMED. IF NEGOTIATIONS ON TABA COULD BE STARTED WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS, MUBARAK STATED, AN ATMOSPHERE MIGHT BE CREATED IN WHICH THE AMBASSADOR COULD BE RETURNED. ASKED IF HE HAD A MESSAGE HE WOULD LIKE THE CODEL DELEGATION TO DELIVER TO PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, MUBARAK SAID "YES," ASK HIM "NOT TO PUT CONDITIONS" ON THE TABA NEGOTIATIONS.

#### 5. THE PEACE PROCESS

MUBARAK STRONGLY REITERATED HIS COMMITMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND ASSERTED THAT, LIKE SADAT, HE WAS AWARE OF ISRAEL'S SECURITY NEEDS. IN ORDER TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS, JORDAN SHOULD BE DRAWN INTO THE PROCESS. MUBARAK EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT HEARING FROM THE AMBASSADOR THAT KING HUSSEIN IS TO MEET EXDIS PRESIDENT REAGAN ON DECEMBER 21, A MEETING WHICH MAY ENCOURAGE JORDANIAN PARTICIPATION. IN ADDITION, AFTER KING HUSSEIN'S RECENT DISCUSSION WITH YASSIR ARAFAT, THERE MAY NOW BE A POSSIBILITY OF INCLUDING MODERATE PALESTINIANS -- PERHAPS FROM THE PLO OR PERHAPS OTHERS NOT AFFILIATED WITH IT -- IN A JORDANIAN DELEGATION FOR THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS. MUBARAK STRESSED THAT NEITHER THE PLO NOR THE PALESTINIANS IS MONOLITHIC, BUT CONTAIN BOTH MODERATE AND EXTREME ELEMENTS.

ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT WHICH WOULD HELP THE PEACE PROCESS IN MUBARAK'S VIEW WAS THE OPENING OF A U.S. DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO. TO THIS END, EGYPT IS URGING THE PALESTINIANS DIRECTLY AND THROUGH THE SAUDIS PUBLICLY TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE. HE NOTED THAT IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, ALL ARAB LEADERS ACKNOWLEDGE ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE. MUBARAK ALSO PRAISED PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PEACE INITIATIVE, STATING THAT THE U.S. HELD "ALL THE CARDS" IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE FEZ INITIATIVE WAS LIKE A "CAR WITHOUT AN ENGINE" AND THE SOVIETS HAD NOT DONE ANYTHING SINCE 1967. THEY WERE UNLIKELY TO DO ANYTHING WITH THEIR CURRENT PROBLEMS IN POLAND, AFGHANISTAN AND ELSEWHERE.

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**6. EGYPTIAN-LIBYAN RELATIONS**

PRESENTLY EGYPT AND LIBYA ARE "PEACEFUL NEIGHBORS" AND MUBARAK WAS CONTENT WITH THAT RELATIONSHIP. ONE OF QADHAFI'S COUSINS HAD BROUGHT HIM A REQUEST THAT EGYPT PARTICIPATE IN THE OAU SUMMIT WHICH MUBARAK REJECTED WITH THE MESSAGE THAT LIBYA SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON MAKING ITS RELATIONS WITH EGYPT BETTER BEFORE ASKING FOR HELP. MUBARAK SAID HE HAD AGREED TO QADHAFI'S REQUEST AT THAT TIME FOR LIBYAN OVER-FLIGHTS BY ITS COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT EN ROUTE TO THE HAJ. AS FOR YET A THIRD REQUEST FROM QADHAFI TO PERMIT LIBYAN AIRLINES TO HAVE REGULAR FLIGHTS DIRECTLY TO AND FROM EGYPT, MUBARAK SAID HE WOULD AGREE AS LONG AS EGYPTIAN AIRLINES HAD THE SAME LANDING RIGHTS. MUBARAK SAID THAT, AS EXPECTED, THE LIBYANS HAD NOT FOLLOWED UP ON THIS.

**7. IRAQ/IRAN WAR**

MUBARAK TERMED THIS AN "AMERICAN MISTAKE" WHICH THE U.S. COULD HAVE AVOIDED IN THE BEGINNING IF WE HAD HAD A BETTER POLICY TOWARD IRAN. WHATEVER THE OUTCOME, THE ONLY BENEFICIARY WOULD BE THE SOVIET UNION. MUBARAK RECOUNTED A CONVERSATION WITH GUINEAN PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE, WHO HAS MADE SEVERAL MEDIATION EFFORTS TO END THE IRAQ-IRAN FIGHTING. TOURE SAID THAT KHOMEINI WANTS TO BE THE IMAM. TO REACH THAT GOAL, HE HAD TO ACHIEVE TWO THINGS: ELIMINATION OF THE SHAH AND ELIMINATION OF SADDAM HUSSEIN. KHOMEINI HAD ACHIEVED THE FIRST GOAL AND IS WORKING ON THE SECOND, BUT PAYING A HEAVY PRICE. SEKOU TOURE CONFIRMED REPORTS COMING TO EGYPT FROM THE IRAQIS THAT THE IRANIANS WERE SENDING 14 AND 15 YEAR OLD BOYS TO THE BATTLEFRONT.

**8. ASSISTANCE**

MUBARAK URGED THAT U.S. ASSISTANCE TO EGYPT NOT BE REDUCED AND THAT UTILIZATION OF U.S. ECONOMIC AID IN PARTICULAR BE FACILITATED. EGYPT IS HERSELF GIVING AID TO CERTAIN AFRICAN COUNTRIES, FOR EXAMPLE, SOMALIA AND SUDAN, IN ORDER TO THWART LIBYA AND ETHIOPIA. THIS REPRESENTS, OF COURSE, A DRAIN ON SCARCE RESOURCES. WITH REGARD TO EGYPT'S CONTRIBUTION TO OUR JOINT PARTNERSHIP, MUBARAK DECLARED THAT EGYPT HAS ALWAYS KEPT ITS PROMISES.

9. THIS MESSAGE WAS NOT CLEARED WITH THE CODEL.  
ATHERTON

END OF MESSAGE

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